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IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE CASE OF SADCC

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Planners, administrators and scholars all view regional economic integration as a possible solution to the problem of underdevelopment in African countries. Reasons for the keen interest in regional cooperation are both economic and political and they include the following: the need to widen markets; the need to pool natural resources and to coordinate regional economic activities; and the need to reduce dependence on the developed countries.

The aim of this paper is not to examine the various regional economic groups in Africa, but to provide a brief overview of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). The paper examines the objectives, structure, programmes, problems and prospects of SADCC.

Origin and Objectives of SADCC

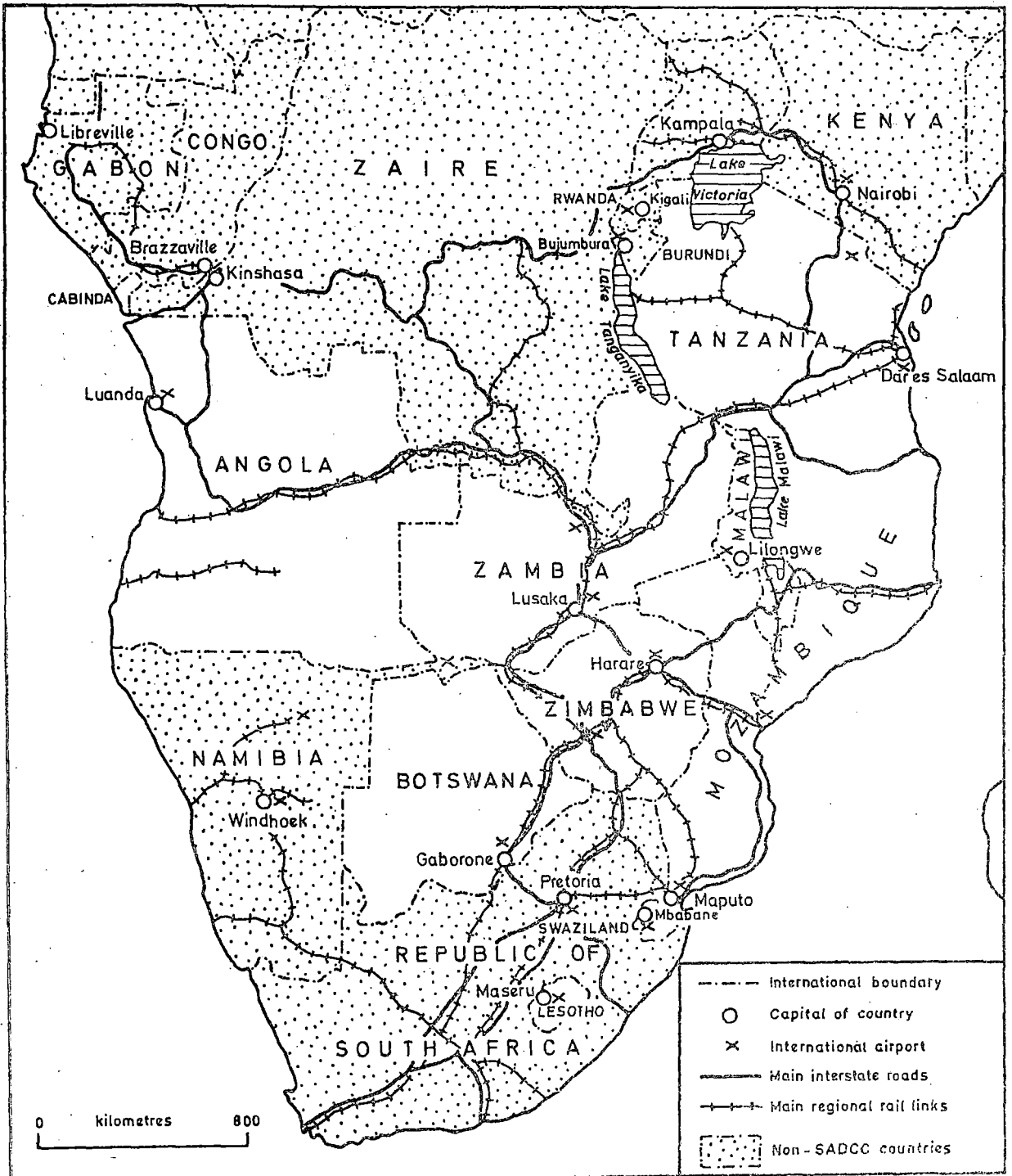
SADCC was initiated at a Front Line States conference in Arusha (Tanzania) in July 1979. At the conference, which was attended by Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, a draft resolution was drawn up setting out the objectives of SADCC. On April 1st 1980, heads of state of the nine majority ruled states of Southern Africa met in Lusaka, Zambia and adopted a document which is now commonly referred to as the 'Lusaka Declaration.' Figure 1 shows the nine SADCC member states which are: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The creation of SADCC is commonly viewed as the outcome of the development of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa from a political to an economic phase. In the Lusaka Declaration the nine heads of state clearly stated that their urgent task was now to include economic liberation in their programmes and priorities. The SADCC idea was also largely a direct response by the majority-ruled states of Southern Africa to the 'Constellation of Southern Africa States' (CONSAS) proposed by South Africa.

According to the Lusaka Declaration, the SADCC states intend to use coordinated action in order to achieve the following:

- a) the reduction of economic dependence, particularly upon South Africa;
- b) the forging of links to create a genuine and equitable regional cooperation in the framework of a collective self-reliance strategy; and

FIGURE 1: THE SADCC MEMBER STATES



RAH/RM

- c) concerted action to receive international cooperation for the implementation of subregional development projects.

To achieve the goals of reduction of external dependence and promotion of national and regional development, each SADCC member state was assigned the responsibility to coordinate at least one sector of the regional economy (See Table 1).

Table 1: Allocation of Responsibilities Among the SADCC Member States

Country	Responsibilities
Angola	Energy Development.
Botswana	Crop research. Animal diseases. Headquarters of the Secretariat.
Lesotho	Soil conservation. Land utilisation.
Malawi	Forestry, fisheries, wildlife.
Mozambique	Transport. Communications.
Swaziland	Industrial development.
Zambia	Southern African Development Fund. Mining.
Zimbabwe	Food security. Land utilisation. Soil conservation.

Two aspects make SADCC a unique form of cooperation on the continent. Firstly, the SADCC countries have opted for a low level organisation. The SADCC Secretariat is not a powerful central body which controls activities in the region. The Secretariat in Botswana is responsible for routine administration and coordination of the SADCC activities. Its major function is to provide the powerful Council of Ministers with administrative support.

Secondly, various member states, rather than the Secretariat, are responsible for coordinating sectoral development within SADCC. This high level of decentralisation obliges member states to play an active role in the affairs of the region.

The Nine SADCC States

In 1982 the nine SADCC states had a population of about 64 million spread over an area of 4 854 300 square kilometres (see Table 2). The average density of about 13 persons per square kilometre in the SADCC region conceals the wide variations in population densities from country to country and from region to region within the same country. The most densely populated and most sparsely populated countries in the SADCC region are Malawi and Botswana respectively. Table 2 reveals the diversities among the member states with regard to population sizes, levels of economic development and volumes of cereal imports. Extreme variations exist with regard to per capita gross domestic product. In 1982 Botswana, Zimbabwe and Angola had the highest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, while Malawi, Lesotho and Tanzania had the lowest. The 1979 life expectancy figures show that life expectancy at birth in the SADCC region was only 49 years. Only 3 countries in the region could boast of longer average life expectancies at birth for their citizens, and these countries were Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Lesotho respectively.

Virtually all SADCC states are major producers of agricultural products (see Table 3). However, the degree of dependence on agriculture varies from country to country. In 1981 the contribution of agriculture to the economies of the various SADCC states varied from 51 percent in Tanzania to only 12 percent in Botswana (see Table 4).

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Table 2: Selected Demographic and Economic Data for SADC

	AREA (000' km ²)	POPULATION (millions) 1982	DENSITY 1982 (persons per sq. km)	GDP per capita 1982	LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH 1979	VOLUME OF CEREAL IMPORTS (000' metric tons) 1981
ANGOLA	1246,7	8,0	6	713	42	244
BOTSWANA	570,0	0,9	2	802	49	59
LESOTHO	30,4	1,4	33	214	51	95
MALAWI	118,5	6,5	55	203	47	113
MOZAMBIQUE	783,0	12,9	16	356	47	368
SWAZILAND	17,4	0,7	40	613	47	48
TANZANIA	945,1	19,8	21	229	52	265
ZAMBIA	752,6	6,0	8	638	49	295
ZIMBABWE	390,6	7,5	19	787	55	21
SADC TOTAL	4854,3	63,7	13	427	49	1108

Sources: * Demographic Yearbook, 1983
 * World Bank Development Report, 1983
 * J. Hanlon, (1984) p.13.
 * Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, and
 World Development Report, 1981. World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Table 3: Leading Exports of SADCC Countries, 1982

COUNTRY	MAIN EXPORTS (in order of importance)
Angola	Oil, coffee, diamonds
Botswana	Diamonds, meat, copper/nickel, textiles
Lesotho	Diamonds, wool, mohair
Malawi	Tobacco, tea, sugar, textiles, ground-nuts
Mozambique	Prawns, refined oil, cashew nuts, electricity, tea, cotton, sugar, cement
Swaziland	Sugar, chemicals, wood, canned fruit, asbestos, citrus, electrical equipment
Tanzania	Coffee, cloves, cotton, diamonds, cashew nuts, tobacco, tea
Zambia	Copper, cobalt, zinc, electricity, lead, coffee, tobacco
Zimbabwe	Tobacco, gold, ferro alloys, asbestos, sugar, nickel, maize, steel

Source: *The Economist Intelligence Unit Quarterly Economic Review*, various issues.

It is important to note that the more poverty stricken SADCC states (Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique) are primarily producers of agricultural products (See Table 4). Angola, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe have extensive mineral resources and minerals are a major component of the exports of these countries (see Table 3). However, the contribution of minerals to the GDP in Zimbabwe and Zambia remains low. This is mainly because both countries have relatively diversified economies and have established relatively large manufacturing industries. In 1980 Zimbabwe and Zambia produced almost 55 percent of the regional manufacturing GDP (see Table 5).

Achievements of SADCC to date

The achievements of SADCC between 1980 and 1986 have been modest.

Attempts to mobilise international financial and technical support have been relatively successful. Between April 1980 and February 1986 finance mobilised or under negotiation was about US\$2 800 million.

Some progress has been made in the sector of transport and communications. The development of this sector is vital if

SADCC member states are to terminate their dependency on South Africa.

Table 4: Percentage of Gross Domestic Product by Sectors, SADCC Countries, 1981

Country	SECTORAL SHARE IN GDP		
	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Mining
ANGOLA	42	3	25
BOTSWANA	12	6	26
LESOTHO	27	5	9
MALAWI	39	11	7
MOZAMBIQUE	43	9	1
SWAZILAND	25	20	3
TANZANIA	51	9	1
ZAMBIA	18	18	8
ZIMBABWE	18	26	5

Source: J. Hanlon, (1984), p.13.

Table 5: Distribution of Regional Manufacturing GDP within SADCC, 1980.

Country	% of Regional Manufacturing GDP
ANGOLA	11,8
BOTSWANA	0,8
LESOTHO	0,2
MALAWI	5,8
MOZAMBIQUE	11,8
SWAZILAND	2,3
TANZANIA	12,6
ZAMBIA	16,9
ZIMBABWE	37,8

Source: R. Peet (1983) p.43.

SADCC has developed the means to focus funding on key sub-sectoral projects, for example, at conferences such as the 1983 conference on the Dar es Salaam Harbour, the 1985 conference on the Tazara transport system and the 1986 Beira Port and Port Corridor Conferences, funds were pledged to support the various projects.

Feasibility studies have already been conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture of Zimbabwe in the following fields:

- i) Regional Resources Information System (RRIS);
- ii) An early warning system for food security to monitor the food position in SADCC countries; and
- iii) the taking of a Regional Inventory of Agricultural Resources.

In the area of control of foot and mouth disease, Botswana has made some progress. It has successfully developed an improved vaccine and can now produce the vaccine in quantities large enough to supply all the SADCC member states.

Problems and Prospects for Regional Cooperation in Southern Africa

Problems

SADCC faces several problems and they include the following:

The heterogeneity of the SADCC member states is likely to hinder effective regional cooperation. The diversity between the member states is very great. Each state has its own economic philosophy, its own form of government, its own resource base, its own domestic and geopolitical problems, and its own degree of dependence upon South Africa and the rest of the world. With such diversity it is almost impossible for the member states to agree on fundamental policy issues. For example, there is still no agreement on how and when to cut economic ties with South Africa. It is difficult to imagine how Lesotho can possibly reduce its dependence on the country which completely surrounds it.

SADCC is very dependent on 'donor' aid from Western countries for the financing of projects and this will make it almost impossible for it to reduce its dependence upon these countries.

There is very little trade among SADCC member states. This is mainly because member states continue to maintain the pre-independence trade patterns. The 1986 trade figures show that the SADCC states have not been producing for the regional market. Angola exported only 2,1 percent of its total exports to other SADCC countries; Botswana 11,9 percent; Lesotho 0,1 percent; Malawi 9,7 percent; Mozambique 11,6 percent; Swaziland 2,7 percent; Tanzania 0,8 percent; Zambia 3,5 percent and Zimbabwe 11,5 percent.

SADCC still faces several technical problems. For example, the national ministries coordinating SADCC responsibilities are still understaffed due to manpower shortages. SADCC still lacks a data base to coordinate the exchange of information and documentation among member states.

The dearth of efficient transport networks in the region and the vast distance separating the member states have been an impediment to international trade in the region.

Possibly, SADCC's greatest challenge is the dominating role of South Africa in the region and the concomitant relations which tie virtually all SADCC states to South Africa.

Prospects

SADCC has made modest achievements so far. However, it is too early to tell whether it will be successful or not. To survive, SADCC has to find solutions to the problems and challenges that confront it. If SADCC can continue as a decentralised organisation whose focus is to coordinate production in Southern Africa and if member states continue to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other states, SADCC may prove a success. However, the ultimate test by which to judge SADCC will be whether or not it will be successful in achieving the objectives enunciated in the Lusaka Declaration.

SADCC is a latecomer to efforts at economic integration in Africa. Its major objective is to diminish external dependence and to promote national and regional development. SADCC's achievements have been modest until now, largely because it has successfully managed to mobilise international funds to finance projects. Whether or not SADCC will be able to achieve its objectives will be determined by how it copes with its numerous challenges. Member states have diverse needs and problems; some are landlocked while others are not; and some are completely dependent on South Africa while others are not. Unfortunately this diversity has not been utilised in order to promote the development of complementary economies in Southern Africa.

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